of Texas is the point of collision with New Mexico; and this plan of the committee, instead of proposing a suitable boundary between them, adapted to localities, or leaving to each its actual possessions, disturbing no interest, until the decision of title upon the universal principle of uti possideties; instead of these obvious and natural remedies, the plan of the committee cuts deep into the actual possessions of the United States in New Mexico, rousing the question which the committee professes to avoid—the question of extending slavery—and disturbing the whole United States.

And here I must insist on the error of the committee in onstitutional and municipal law, before I point out their mistakes in geography and history. They treat New Mexico as having a controversy with Texas—as being in danger of a collision with her—and that a compact with Texas to settle the boundary between them is the only way to settle that controversy and prevent that collision. Now, all this is a mistake. The controversy is not with New Mexico, but with the United States, and the judicial power of the United States has jurisdiction of it. Again, possession is title until the right is tried; and the United States having the possession, may give a government at once according to the po and then wait the decision of title.

I avoid all argument about right—the eventual right of Texas to any part of what was New Mexico before the existence of Texas. I avoid that question. Amicable settlement of contested claim, and not adjudication of title, is now my object. I need no argument from any quarter to satisfy me that the Texas questions ought to be settled. I happened to know that before Texas was annexed, and brought in bills and made speeches for that purpose, at that time. I brought in such bills six years ago, and again at the present session; and whenever presented single, either by myself or any other person, I shall be ready to give it a generous consideration; but, as part of the California bill, I wash my hands of it.

compact and homogeneous territory. With this view all my bills and plans for a divisional line between New Mexico and Texas—whether of 1844 or 1850—left to each all its settlements, all its actual possessions, all its uncontested claim, and divided the remainder by a line adapted to the geography and natural divisions of the country, as well as suitable to the political and social condition of the people themselves. This gave a longitudinal line between them; and the longitude 100 degrees in my bill of the property of the same throughout the continuation of the same throughout the continuation of the line across the Puerco and its valley, and at some points then saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it was to become worse with time: the danger to both races from so large an emancipation. The men of that day were not a property of the property of the property of the line across the Puerco and its valley, and at some points then saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it was to become worse with time: the danger to both races from so large an emancipation. The men of that day were not a property of the property of the property of the property of the same throughout the continuation of the line across the Puerco and its valley, and at some points then saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it was to become which the was to become which the was to become which the saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it was to become which the danger which the wise men of Virginia in that remedy the danger which the saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it was to become worse with time: the danger to both races from some points. degrees in my bill of 1844, and 102 degrees in my bill of 1850—and both upon the same principle of leaving possessions intact, Texas having extended her settlements in the mean time. The proposed line of the committee violates all these conditions. It cuts deep and arbitrarily into the actual waters of the Red river, the Colorado, the Brasos, and other possessions of New Mexico, such as she held them before Texas had existence; and so conforms to no principle of public policy, private right, territorial affinity, or local propriety. It begins on the Rio del Norte, twenty miles in a straight line above El Paso, and thence, diagonally and northeastwardly, to the point where the Red river crosses the longitude of 100 degrees. Now, this beginning, twenty miles above El Paso, is about three hundred miles in a straight line (near six hunis about three hundred miles in a straight line (near six hundred by the windings of the river) above the ancient line of length, being a thousand miles, following its windings—from New Mexico; and this diagonal line to the Red river cuts its course, which is north and south—from the quality of its about four hundred miles in a straight line through the ancient New Mexican possessions, cutting off about seventy thousand square miles of territory from New Mexico, where and salt. It has two climates, cold in the north from its altithere is no slavery, and giving it to Texas, where there is.
This constitutes a more serious case of tacking than even that of sticking incongruous bills together, and calls for a most of climate over the valley of the Del Norte from its openconsiderate examination of all the circumstances it involves. ness on the east and mountain shelter on the west. It I will examine these circumstances, first making a state- river of New Mexico, and is so classified in geography

the most southern town of the province, as Taos was the special relation to the question of title between New Mexico most northern. Being on the right bank of the river, the Mexico leaves it out of our limits, and consequently out of the present limits of New Mexico; but New Mexico still extends to the Rio del Norte at the Paso; and therefore this beginning line proposed by the committee cuts into the ancient possession of New Mexico—a possession dating from the year 1846:) 595. That line, in its course to the Red river, cuts the 1695. That line, in its course to the Red river, cuts the river and valley of the Puerco (called Pecos in the upper part) into two parts, leaving the lower and larger part to Texas; the said Rio Puerco and its valley, from head to mouth, having always been a part of New Mexico, and now in its actual possession. Putting together what is cut from the Puerco, and from the Del Norte above and below El Paso, and it would amount to about several below the parts, lit was no doubt a Spanish mining town; and it is not unlikely that it was destroyed in 1680, in the general and successful insurrection of the Indians in New Mexico against to be taken by the committee's line from its present and anto be taken by the committee's line from its present and an- the Spaniards." what the new line would do, and in doing it would raise the question of the extension of slavery, and of its existence at his time, by law, in New Mexico as a part of Texas.

This statement is too important to remain a mere statement. I therefore proceed to verify it; and for that purpose have recourse to the highest authorities—Humboldt's Essay upon New Spain, Pike's Journal of his passage through New Mexico, and Dr. Wislizenus's report of his tour with Doniphan's expedition. I begin with Humboldt, and quote him to show the boundaries of New Mexico on the east, where that province bounded upon Texas and Coahuila. At page 282, vol. 1, Paris edition of the Essay, he says :

"J'ai tracé les limites de Coahuila et de Texas, près d l'embuchure du Rio Puerco, et vers les sources du Rio de San Saba, telles que je les ai trouvées indiquées dans les cartes spéciales conservées dans les archieves de la vice—royauté, et dressées par des ingénieurs au service du

d'Espagne."
In Exelisa: "I have traced the limits of Coahuila and of Texas near the mouth of the Rio Puerco, and towards the sources of the Rio de San Saba, such as I have found them in the special maps preserved in the archives of the vice-royalty and drawn up by engineers in the service of the King of

places that boundary, as it leaves the Rio Grande del Norte, longitude 104, and in north latitude 291, and thence north-Spain, and preserved in the archives of the Viceroyalty in the city of Mexico. Further than that he does not trace it; but that is far enough for our purpose. It is enough to show that New Mexico, under the Spanish Government, extended as far east as 101 degrees of longitude, covering the whole bill, there are, the little town of Frontera, ten miles above

This is the journal of Pike, and his map corresponds with it. It shows the eastern boundary of New Mexico, leaving the Del Norte a few miles below the mouth of the Puerce, in longitude 104, and bearing northeast towards the San Saba. This corresponds with Humboldt, and shows that, in maning 104 as the eastern longitudinal limit of New Mexico, he was only speaking of the point at which it left the Rio del Norte, called in that part the Rio Grande. His map—the breadth of the province, stated by him at six hundred miles—and the boundary east on Louising all the province. boundary east on Louisiana—all show that he carried the eastern boundary, after leaving the Del Norte, as far northeast as Humboldt had done. This is the testimony of Pike, then a lieutenant, afterwards a general in the army of the United States, an energetic explorer as well'as a brave officer, much addicted to geographical study. He had explored the head-waters of the Mississippi and the Arkansas, and then traversed New Mexico and the contiguous provinces to Chihuahua, and thence to Texas, as a prisoner in the hands of Spanish officers, and improved the occasion to learn the grography and history of the country through which he was fed, and gave us the earliest American account of the internal pro-

The map of Dr. Wislizenus, which I now produce, agrees with Humboldt and Pike, except in the correction of slight differences in longitudes and latitudes, which his accurate in struments enabled him to make, and which have no practical Crusoe. Congress and the judiciary are the authorities to consequence in this examination. On this map I have mark-decide such claims to titles, and not Presidents and consequence in this examination. On this map I have marked, in a red pencil line, the southeastern boundary of New
Mexico as it existed under the Spanish Government, and in a
dotted red pencil line the new boundary as proposed by our

by New Mexico; but it is only for brevity, and to give locality to the term possession. New Mexico possesses no territory: she is a territory, and belongs to the United States; and the United States own her as she stood on the day of the treaty of peace and cession between the United States and the Republic of Mexico; and it is into that possession that I inquire, and up to which I assert that the United States have a right to hold until the question of title is decided. And to save inquiry or doubt, and to show that the committee are totally mistsken in law in assuming the consent of Texas to be indispensable to the settlement of the title, I say there are three ways to settle it, the first and best by compact, as I proposed before Texas was annexed, and again by a bill of this year; next by a suit in the Supreme Court under that clause in the before Texas was annexed, and again by a bill of this year; next by a suit in the Supreme Court under that clause in the constitution which extends the judicial power of the United States to all controversies to which the United States is a party, and that other clause which gives the Supreme Court original jurisdiction of all cases to which a State is a party; the third way is for the United States to give a government to New Mexico according to the territory she possessed wher she was ceded to the United States. These are the three ways to settle the question—one of them totally dependent on the will of Texas—one totally independent of her will—and one independent of her will until she chooses to go into court. As to any thing that Texas or New Mexico may do in taking or relinquishing possession, it is all moonshine. New Mexico is a territory of the United States. She is the pro-perty of the United States; and she cannot dispose of herself, or any part of herself; nor can Texas take her, or any part of her. She is to stand as she did the day the United States

Dut, as part of the California bill, I wash my hands of it.

I am against disturbing actual possession, either that of New Mexico or of Texas; and, therefore, am in favor of leaving to each all its population, and an ample amount of compact and homogeneous territory. With this view all my bills and plans for a divisional line between New Mexico and Texas—whether of 1844 or 1850—left to each all its settlements, all its actual possessions, all its uncontested claim and divided the means are that to that point all my examinations are directed.

I proceed with the possession of New Mexico, and show that it has been actual and continuous from the country by Don Juan de Oñate, in 1595, to the present time. That ancient actual possession has already been shown at the starting point of the line—at El Paso del Norte. I will now show it to be the same throughout the continuation of the line across the Puerco and its value. Texan streams. It is a long river, its head being in the latitude of Nashville—its mouth a degree and a half south of ing it in new regions where it does not now exist—bestow. New Orleans. It washes the base of the high table land, and ing it on those who have it not. The incurability of the evil is receives no affluents, and has no valley on that side : on the west it has a valley, and many bold affluents, coming down from the mountain range, (the Sierra Obscura, the Sierra much more to inflict one that is incurable, and against the Blanca, and the Sierra de los Organos,) which divide it from will of the people who are to endure it forever! I quarrel ment, and then sustaining it by-proof.

El Paso, above which the Texas boundary is now proposed to be placed by the committee, is one of the most ancient of the New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican towns, and to which the Spaniards of New Mexican of New Mexican towns and villages upon it. Las Vegas, Gallinas, Tecolote Abajo, Cuesta, Pecos, San Miguel, Anton Chico, Salinas, Gran Quivira, are all upon it. Some of these towns date their origin as far back as the first conquest of the Taos Indians, about the residence of the lieutenant governor of New Mexico, and the year 1600; and some have an historical interest, and the United States and the Republic of name, famous for the sacred fire so long kept burning there

"Within the last few years several Americans and French

about one hundred miles southeast from Santa Fé, and where the people of New Mexico have obtained their salt from the nent of the country to the present day. This is what Dr. Wislizenus says of these places: .

"About four days travelling (probably 100 miles) south-southeast of Santa Fé, are some extensive salt lakes, or "Sali-nas," from which all the salt used in New Mexico is procured. has," from which all the salt used in New Mexico is procured.

Large caravans go there every year from Santa Fé, in the dry season, and return with as much as they can transport. They exchange, generally, one bushel of salt for one of Indian corn, or sell it for one, and even two dollars a bushel."

San Miguel, twenty miles from Santa Fé, is the place where the Texan expedition, under Col. Cooke, were take prisoners in 1841.

To all these evidences of New Mexican possession of the Rio Puerco and its valley, is to be added the further evidence resulting from acts of ownership in grants of land made upon its upper part, as in New Mexico, by the superior Spanish authorities before the revolution, and by the New Mexican local authorities since. The lower half was ungranted, and leaves much vacant land, and the best in the country, to the United States.

The great pustoral lands of New Mexico are in the valle

This is what Humboldt says of the eastern boundary of of the Puerco, where millions of sheep were formerly pastured. New Mexico; and his map illustrates what he says. He now reduced to about two hundred thousand by the depredation of the Indians. The New Mexican inhabitants of the iles below the mouth of the Puerco, in west Del Norte send their flocks there to be herded by shepherds. on the shares; and in this way, and by taking their salt there eastwardly to the head of the Rio San Saba, a branch of the Rio Colorado of Texas, in north latitude 32° 15', and in west lands, the New Mexicans have had possession of the Puerco longitude 101. This is the line he gives as found in the spe- and its valley since the year 1600-that is to say, for about cial maps drawn up by engineers in the service of the King of one hundred years before the shipwreck of La Salle, in the

course of the Puerco, and entering what is now the county of Bexar, in Texas. So much for Humboldt: now for Pike. He says, at p. 5 of his appendix to the journal of his journey through Nam Marian. ney through New Mexico:

"New Mexico lies between 30° 30′ and 44° of north latitude, and 104 and 108 degrees of west longitude, and is the most northern province of the kingdom of New Spain. It extends northwest into an undefined boundary—is bounded north and east by Lauisiana, south by New Biscay and Coahuils, and west by Sonora and California. Its length is unknown: its breadth may be 600 miles; but the inhabited part is not more than 400 miles in length and 50 in breadth, lying along the river del Norte from the 37° to the 31° 30′ of north latitude: but in this space there is a desert of more than 250 it is now the most southern town of New Mexico, without latitude: but in this space there is a desert of more than 250 it is now the most southern town of New Mexico, without latitude: but in this space there is a desert of more than 250 lt is now the most southern town of New Mexico, without miles. Santa Fe is the capital, and the residence of the Governor. El Paso is the second city, and is the residence of the Lieutenant Governor. It is the most southern town of the Province, as Taos is the most northern."

"The inhabitants of the Paso del Norte have preserved the memory of a very extraordinary event which took place in the year 1752. They saw all at once the bed of the river dry thirty leagues above, and more than twenty leagues below the Paso: the water of the river threw itself into a crevasse newly formed, and did not issue again until near the Presidio of San Elisario. This loss of the Rio del Norte continued a considerable time. The beautiful fields which surround the Past and which are traversed by little canals of irrigation, remain ed without watering; the inhabitants dug wells in the same with which the bed of the river is filled. Finally, after several weeks they saw the water take its ancient course, without doubt because the crevasse and the subterranean conduits had filled themselves."—Essay on New Spain, vol. 1, p. 304.

I reiterate : I am not arguing title ; I am only showing possession, which is a right to remain in possession until title is decided. The argument of title has often been introduced into this question; and a letter from President Polk, through Sec etary Buchanan, has often been read on the Texan side. Now, what I have to say of that letter, so frequently referred to, and considered so conclusive, is this: that, however potent it may have been in inducing annexation, or how much so ever it may be entitled to consideration in fixing the amount to be paid to Texas for her Mexican claim, yet as an evidence of title, after title, I should pay no more regard to it than to a chapter fr m the life and adventures of Robinson

Secretaries. I rest upon the position, then, that the Rio Puerco, and Committee of Thirteen. The difference between the two lines is, as I have stated, about 70,000 square miles; and to that extent is New Mexico to be affected by that proposed line.

To avoid all misconception, I repeat what I have already declared, that I am not occupying myself with the question of the state of slavery; and, secondly, of the present legal extension of slavery; and was a New Mexico and Texas; nor am I questioning the power of the proposed line of the committee raise, and force us to face.

The difference between the two lines it walley, is and was a New Mexican possession, as well as the left bank of the Del Neric, from above El Paso to below and incorpora e them into the State. Deep rooted prejudices and incorpora the intertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; and incorpora the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; and incorpora the intertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; and incorpora the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections of the enter

This is what I proposed six years ago, and as one in a series of propositions to be offered to Texas and Mexico for settling all queetions growing out of the projected annexation beforehand. They were not adopted. Immediate annexation, without rogard to consequences, was the cry; and all temperate counsels were set down to British Traitors, Abolitionists, and Whigs. Well! we have to regard consequences now—several consequences; one of which is this extension of slavery, which the report and conglomerate bills of the Committee of Thirteen force us to face. I did so six years ago, and heard no outbreak against my opinions then. But my and heard no outbreak against my opinions then. But my opposition to the extension of slavery dates further back than 1844—forty years further back; and as this is a suitable time 1844—torty years turther back; and as this is a suitable time for a general declaration, and a sort of general conscience delivery, I will say that my opposition to it dates from 1804, when I was a student at law in the State of Tennessee, and studied the subject of African slavery in an American book—a Virginia beok—Tucker's edition of Blackstone's Commentaries. And here it is, (holding up a volume and reading from the title page:) "Blackstone's Commentaries, with notes of reference to the constitution and laws of the Faderal Commentaries the United States, and of the Commentaries. notes of reference to the constitution and laws of the Esderal Government of the United States, and of the Commonwealth of Virginia, in five volumes, with an appendix to each volume containing short tracts, as appeared necessary to form a connected view of the laws of Virginia as a member of the Federal Union. By St. George Tucker, Professor of law in the University of William and Mary, and one of the Judges of the General Court in Virginia." In this American book—this Virginia edition of an English work—I found my principles on the subject of slavery. Among the short tracts in the appendixes is one of fifty pages in the appendix to the first volume, second part, which treats of the subject of African slavery in the United States, with a total condemnation of the institution, and a plan for its extinction in African slavery in the United States, with a total condemna-tion of the institution, and a plan for its extinction in Virginia. In that work—in that school—that old Virgi-nia scho I which I was taught to reverence—I found my principles on slavery : and adhere to them. I concur in the essay, except the remedy—gradual emancipation—and find in that remedy the danger which the wise men of Virginia then saw and dreaded, but resolved to encounter, because it phers. They knew that the emancipation of the black slave was not a mere question between master and slave—not a question of property merely—but a question of white and black—between races: and what was to be the consequence to each race from a large emancipation.\* And there the wisdom, not the philanthropy, of Virginia balked fifty years ago: there the wisdom of America balks now. And here I find the largest objection to the extension of slavery-to plant-

the greatest objection to the extension of slavery. It is wrong for the legislator to inflict an evil which can be cured: how much more to inflict one that is incurable, and against the will of the people who are to endure it forever! I quarrel with no one for supposing slavery a blessing: I deem it an evil: and would neither adopt it nor impose it on others. Yet I am a slaveholder, and among the few members of Congress who hold slaves in this District.

In refusing to extend slavery into these seventy thousand course side. Let in conformity not only a supervisor least the seventy thousand course sides. square miles, I act in conformity not only to my own longestablished principles, but also in conformity to the long-established practice of Congress. Five times in four years did Congress refuse the prayer of Indiana for a temporary suspension of the anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of '87. On the 2d of March, 1803, Mr. Randolph, of Roanoke, as chairman of the committee to which the memorial praying

he suspension was referred, made a report against it, which was concurred in by the House. This is the report : "That the rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States: that the committee deem it varion of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States: that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana wil', at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration."

This report of Mr. Randolph was in 1803 : the next year, March, 1804, a different report, on the same prayer, was made by a committee of which Mr. Rodney, of Delaware, was chairman. It recommended a suspension of the anti slavery clause for ten years: it was not concurred in by the House. Two years afterwards, February, 1806, a similar report, recommending suspension for ten years was made by man: it met the same fate—non concurrence. The next year, 1807, both Houses were tried. In February of that year, a committee of the House, of which Mr. Parke, was chairman, reported in favor of the indefinite suspension of the clause: the report was not concurred in. And in November of that year, Mr. Franklin, of North Carolina, as chairman of a committee of the Senate, made a report against the sus-pension, which was concurred in by the Senate; and unanimously, as it would seem from the Journal, there being no division called for. Thus, five times in four years, the respective Houses of Congress refused to admit even a tempo rary extension, or rather re-extension of slavery into Indiana Perritory, which had been before the ordinance of '87 a slave holding many slaves at Vincennes. These five reerritory fusals to suspend the ordinance of '87, were so many confirmations of it. All the rest of the action of Congress on the subject, was to the same effect or stronger. The Missouri compromise line was a curtailment of slave territory; the Pexas annexation resolutions were the same ; the ordinance of '87 itself, so often confirmed by Congress, was a curtailment of slave territory—in fact its actual abolition; for it is certain that slavery existed in fact in the French settlements of the Illinois at that time; and that the ordinance terminated it. I act then in conformity to the long, uniformly establish ed policy of Congress, as well as in conformity to my own

the committee's line would involve. I return to the point-the 70,000 square miles of territor which the committee's line would transfer from the possession of New Mexico to the possession of Texas—and the questiof the extension of slavery which grows out of that transfer There is no slavery on it now, either in law or in fact. It will be there by law if the transfer is made. This leaves open but one question ; and that is, can climate be relied upon to keep it I think not. There are two climates in New Mexicoone frigid, the other temperate; and these 70,000 square mile are in the temperate part. It is a long province, stretching north and south, high and mountainous in the north—lower, and with broader valley lower down. Santa Fé has an ele vation of 7,250 feet, El Paso 3,800. The Rio del Norte is called in the upper part of its course the river above, (Rio Arriva;) in the lower part, river below, (Rio Abajo;) and the climate corresponds with this structure of the country—rigorous at Santa Fé, mild at El Paso. Humboldt thus speaks

principles, in refusing to vote the extension of slavery which

"New Mexico, though placed under the same latitude with Syria and Central Persia, has a climate eminently cold. It freezes there in the middle of the month of May, near to Santa Fs, and a little further north (under the parallel of the More;) the Rio del Norte is covered sometimes several years in succession with ice so thick that horses and carriages pass on it. We do not know the elevation of the country in New Mexico; but I doubt whether, under the 37° of latitude, the Mexico; but I doubt whether, under the 37° of latitude, the bed of the river may have more than seven or eight hundred metres of elevation above the level of the sea. The mountains which border the valley of the Del Norte, even those at the foot of which is placed the village of Taos, lose their snow already towards the commencement of the month of June."

[Vol. 1, p. 303.

"The environs of El Paso are a delicious country, which resemble the most beautiful parts of Andalusis. The fields are cultivated in core and wheat. The vineyards produce excellent wines, which are preferred even to the wines of Parras and of New Biscay. The gardens contain in abundance all the fruit trees of Europe—figs, peaches, pomegranates, and pears."—Vol. 3, p. 306.

Humboldt is right, and recent travellers confirm now what he wrote in 1804. It was at the head of the valley of the Del Norte, some three degrees north of Santa Fe, that Col. Fremont suffered his great disaster—had to struggle through snows above the heads of men and horses, and found it a re-lief to tread the river, solid with ice, for a road. At Santa Fe, the 20th of February, it was winter; eight days afterwards, on the Rio Abajo, half way to El Paso, and having descended 2,600 feet, and still 1,200 feet above the level of El Paso, it was spring—the farmers ploughing and seeding, the early fruit trees in bloom, and the air so mild that he camped out of nights, and without tents, though in a set led and hospitable country. Here, then, are two climates in New Mexico—one a barrier against the introduction of African slavery, the other not; and it is that part which is not a barrier that is proposed to be transferred to Texas. This applies to the Del Norte and its valley: it is still more true of the Puerco and its valley. Rising in the latitude, and at the ele-

quarter becomes the question which the committee's bill forces us to face—and which I have faced !

The committee's line has the further ill consecu raising the question of the existence of slavery by law in the Santa Fe part even of New Mexico. If their line is a compromise of the Texas claim, it admits the right and sovereignty of Texas both above and below, and will involve nembers in an inconvenient vote-the consequence of which

readily seen. This is a consequence which the committee's bill involves, and from which there is no escape but in the total rejection of their plan, and the adoption of the line which I propose—the longitudinal line of 102—which, corresponding with ancient title and actual possession, avoids the question of slavery in either country; which, leaving the population of each untouched, disturbs no interest; and which, in splitting the high sterile table land of the Staked Plain, conforms to the natural division of the country, and leaves to each a natural frontier, and an ample extent of compact and homogeneous territory. To Texas is left all the territory drained by all the rivers which have their mouths within her limits, whether those mouths are in the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi, or the Rio Grande: to New Mexico is left the whole course of the Rio Puerco and all its valley; and which, added to the valley of the Del Norte, will make a State of the first class in point of This is a consequence which the committee's bill involves, grass, and presenting to the traveller a horizon of its own like the ocean. Without a landmark to guide the steps of the the ocean. Without a landmark to guide the steps of the traveller across it, the early hunters and herdsmen of New Mexico staked their course across it; and hence its name, El Llano Estacada—the Staked Plain. It is a natural frontier between New Mexico and Texas; and for such a line, quieting all questions between them, all with the United States, yielding near two bundred thousand square miles of territory to the United States, and putting into her hands the means of populating and defending New Mexico by giving lands to settlers and defenders—I am ready to vote the fifteen millions which my bill fairly and openly proposes. For the line in this bill I would not give a copper. But it would be between New Mexico and Texas; and for such a line. great error to suppose I would give fifteen millions for the rritory in dispute between New Mexico and Texas. That disputed territory is only a small part of what the Texan cession would be. It would embrace four degrees of latitude on the north of Tejas, and a front of a thousand miles on the Arkansas, and would give to the United States territory indispensable to her to the population and defence both of New Mexico and Utal, in front of both which this part of Texas lies. The committee, in their report, and the Senator from Ken-

ucky (Mr. CLIX) in his speech, are impressive in their representations in fasor of giving Governments to New Mexico and the remaining part of California. I join them in all they say in favor of the accessity of these Governments, and the duty of Congress to give them. I mean Territorial Governments, and would not tote for State Governments in either of them, even if they seat constitutions here. I do not deem them ripe for such Governments; they are too young and weak for that. They are in our hands, and upon our hands, and be-long to us; and it is our duty to provide for them, and take care of them, until they are strong enough to take care of themselves as sovereign States. Both Territories require government at our hands, and protection along with it; New fexico especially, now desolated by Indian ravages, and suffering more in the three years that she has belonged to the United States than in any three years of her existence—even during the most helpless period of the Mexican rule. The Spanish Government, under the vice regal system, appropriated two thousand dragoons to the protection of the internal provinces from the Apaches, the Navahoes, the Cumanches, and other wild Indians. We have a few companies of dra-goons and some stationary infantry, in sight of whose bar-racks these Indians slay men and women, carry off children, and drive away flocks and herds, sometimes thousands in a drove. The Navahoes actually have more New Mexican sheep now than the New Mexicans have left. A single individual nhabitant of El Paso owned more cattle and sheep when Pike was there in 1806 than the whole town and settlement now flocks and herds then nearly equal to those of the whole pro-vince now. The Valley of Puerco, then the sheep-walk of millione, is now reduced to some two hundred thousand, and becoming less every day. All this is a reproach to us. It is reproach to republican Government in our persons. It is an appeal to us for succor and protection, to which we can-not be deaf without drawing down upon our heads the censure of all good men. But this bill is not the way to give it. These Governments are balked by being put into this bill. They not only impede California, but themselves. The conjunction is an injury to both. They mutually delay and enlanger each other. And it is no argument in favor of the conjunction to say that the establishment of a Government for New Mexico requires the previous settlement of her eastern boundary with Texas. That is no argument for tacking Texas, with all her multifarious questions, even to New Mexico, much less to California. It is indeed very desirable to settle that boundary, and to settle it at once, and forever ; but it is not an indispensability to the creation of a Govern-ment for New Mexico. We have a right to a Government according to her possession; and that we can give her, to continue till the question of title is decided. The uti possi-

lerelict of its duty.

I have now examined, so far as I propose motion for indefinite postponement, the three bills which the Mexico, and Texas bills. There are two other bills which I have not mentioned, because they are not tacked, but only hung on; but which belong to the system, as it is called, and without some mention of which injustice would be done to the committee in the presentation of their scheme. The fu-gitive slave recovery bill and the District of Columbia slave-trade suppression bill are parts of the system of measures which the committee propose, and which, taken together, are to constitute a compromise, and to terminate for ever and to constitute a compromise, and to terminate for ever and most fraternally all the dissensions of the slavery agitation in the United States. They apply to two out of the five gaping wounds which the Senator from Kentucky enumerated on the five fingers of his left hand, and for healing up all which at once he had provided one large plaster, big enough to cover all, and efficacious enough to cure all; while the President only proposed to cure one, and that with a little plaster, and it of no efficacy. I do not propose to examine these two attendant, or sequacious bills, which dangle at the tail of the other three. I will not go into them, nor mention ony the owner out of the Federal Treasury for the loss of recoverable slaves, might admit, in practice, of abolition in the States by the legislation of Congress and the purse of the nation; and to suppress the slave-trade in this District as a concession for abstaining from the abolition of slavery in this District, as expressed in the report, page 17, is to make a concession of something valuable for an abstinence which we have had for sixty years without concession, and are still

he case of citizens or communities of the same Government,

only is different. Between independent nations it is done by

negotiation or by arms : between citizens or communities of

ions may invade and fight each other for a boundary : citi-

zens or communities of the same Government cannot. And

and between independent nations. The mode of decisio

o have on the same terms ! This is the end of the committee's labor-five o'd bills parties to make it, any authority to enforce it, any penalties parties to make it, any authority to enforce it, any pentities for breaking it, or any thing to be compromised. The compromises of the constitution are of that kind; and they stand. Compromises made in court, and entered of record, are of that kind; and they stand. Compromises made by individuals on claims to property are likewise of that character; and they stand. I respect all such compromises. But where there happens to be nothing to be compromised, no parties to make a compromise, no power to enforce it, no penalty for its breach, no obligation on any one—not even its makers—to observe it, and when no two human beings can agree about its meaning, then a compromise becomes riliculous and pes iferous. I have no respect for it, and eschew it. It cannot stand, and will fall; and in its fall will raise up more ills than it was intended to cure. And of this character I dethis farrage of incongruous matter, which has been gathered up and stuck together, and offered to us "all or none," like "fifty-four forty," to be. It has none of the requisites of a compromise, and the name cannot make it so.

and, therefore, Texas should not have a veto upon the admission of Californias. In the next place, Texas presents a great amany actions questions of her own, some of them depending upon a compact already existing with the United States—one concerning the United St compromise is a concession, a mutual concession of contested rights between two parties. I know of nothing to be conceded on the part of the slaveholding States in regard to their slave property. Their rights are independent of the Federal Government, and admitted in the Constitution—a right to foreroment, and admitted in the Constitution—a right to hold their slaves as property, a right to pursue and recover them as property, a right to it as a political element in the weight of these States, by making five count three in the national representation. These are our rights by an instrument which we are bound to respect, and I will concede none of them, nor purchase any of them. I never purchase as a foncession what I hold to be a right, nor accept an inferior title when I already hold the highest the state.

a dividing wall between systems of waters and systems of countries. It is a high sterile plain, some sixty miles wide upon some five hundred long, running north and south, its western declivity abrupt and washed by the Puerco at its base: its eastern broken into chasms—cañones—from which issue the myriad of little streams which, flowing towards the rising gether, and called a compromise, than the nation is filled with sun, form the great rivers—Red river, Brasos, Colorado, Nueces, which find their outlet in the Mississippi or in the Gulf of Mexico. It is a salient feature in North American

This mystifies me, and the nearest that I can come to a scented their existence. But no sooner are they jumbled to geography from its structure—a table of land sixty miles wide, five hundred long, and some thousands feet above the level of the sea—and sterile, level, without a shrub, a plant, or the same root, but the extract is totally a different article in the hands of the two Doctors: produced by one, a universal paracea; the other, little less than poison. Here is what the Old Doctor says of this strange difference:

"We wish it understood, because it is the absolute truth, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarssparilla are heaven-wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common."

And accounts for the difference thus :

"The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men "The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless, and others which, if retained in preparing it for use, produces fermentation and acid, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of sarsaparilla are so volatile that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to the experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, those volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation, ander heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value."

Now, all this is perfectly intelligible to me. I understand exactly. It shows me precisely how the same root is either o be a poison or a medicine, as it happens to be in the hands of the old or the young d ctor. This may be the case with hese bills. To me it looks like a clue to the mystery ; but I decide nothing, and wait patiently for the solution which the Senator from Kentucky may give when he comes to answer this part of my speech. The Old Doctor winds up in requiring particular attention to his name labelled on the bot-ile, to wit, "Old Doctor Jacob Townsend," and not Young Doctor Samuel Townsend. This shows that there is virtue in a name when applied to the extract of sarsaparilla root; and there may be equal virtue in it when applied to a compronise bill. It so, it may show how these self same bills are of no force or virtue in the hands of the young Senator from Illi-

nois, (Mr. Douglas,) and become omnipotently efficacious in the hands of the old Senator from Kentucky. This is the end of the grand committee's work—five old bills tacked together, and presented as a remedy for evils which have no existence, and required to be accepted under a penaly-the penalty of being gazetted as enemies of compromise, nd played at by the organs! The old one, to be dreadfully out of tune—the strings all broken and the screws all loose, and discoursing most woful music, and still requirng us to dance to it! And such dancing it would be!-nothing but turn round, cross over, set-to, and back out! Sir, there was once a musician—we have all read of him—who had power with his lyre-(but his instrument was spelt l y r e)-not only over men, but over wild beasts also, and even over sones, which he could make dance into their places when the walls of Ilion were to be built. But our old organinjury to his instrument in playing the grand national air of the four f's-the filty-four forty or fight-it is so out of tune that its music will be much more apt to scare off tame men

than to charm wild beasts or stones. No sir ! no more slavery compromises. Stick to those we have in the constitution, and they will be stuck to! Look at the four votes—those four on the propositions which I sub-mitted. No abolition of slavery in the States: none in the forts, arsenals, navy yards and dock yards: none in the District of Columbia: no interference with the slave trade between the States. These are the votes given on this floor. and which are above all Congress, compromises because they

abide the compromises of the constitution.

The committee, besides the ordinary purposes of legislation, that of making laws for the government of the people, propose another object of a different kind, that of giving peace and happiness to a miserable and distracted people—innu the people of the United States. They propose this object as the grand result and crowning mercy of their multifarious labors. The gravity with which the chairman of the com mittee has brought foward this object in his report, and the pathetic manner in which he has enforced it in his speech, detis—as you posses:—is the principle to govern our legis-lation—the principle which gives the possessor a right to the possession until the question of title is decided. This princi-ple is the same both in national and municipal law—both in tofore intimated, of any intentional joke to be pracised upon us by that distinguished Senator; otherwise I might have been tempted to believe that the eminent Senator, unbending from his serious occupations, had condescended to amuse himself at our expense. Certain it is that the conception of this restoration of peace and happiness is most jocose. he same Government, it is done by law. Independent natraction to be composed, no misery to be assuaged, no les harmony to be restored, no lost happiness to be recovered the party that shall attempt it commits a violation of law and And, if there was, the committee is not the party to give us order; and the Government which permits such violation is these blessings. Their example and procept do not agree. They preach concord, and practise discord. They recommend harmony to others, and disagree among themselves They propose the fraternal kiss to us, and give themselves rude rebuffs. Scarcely is the healing report read, and the anodyne bills, or pills, laid on our tables, than fierce contenion breaks out in the ranks of the committee itself. attack each other. They give and take fi ree licks. The great peace maker himself fares badly—stock all over with rrows, like the man on the first leaf of the almanac. Here, in our presence, in the very act of consummating the mar-riage of California with Utah, New Mexico, Texas, the fugaious slaves of the States, and the marketable slaves of this District-in this very act of consummation, as in a certain wedding feast of old, the feast becomes a fight-the festival a mbat-and the amiable guests pummel each other. When his committee was formed, and himself safely in

talled at the head of it, conqueror and pacificator, the Sena from Kentucky appeared to be the happiest of mankind. We all remember tha night. He seemed to ache with plea sure. It was too great for continence. It burst forth. the fulness of his joy, and the overflowing of his heart, he entered upon that series of congratulations me to be rather premature, and in disregard of the sage maxim them further than to say, that the alternative in the report to which admonishes the traveller never to hal too till he is out of the woods. I thought so then. I was forcibly reminded of it on Saturday last, when I saw that Senator, after vain efforts to compose his friends, and even reminding hom of what they were "threatened" with this day—innuendo, this pour speech of mine-gather up his beaver and quit the chamber in a way that seemed to say, the Lord have mercy upon you a l, for I am done with you! But the Senator was happy that night—supremely so. All his plans had succeeded— Committee of Thirteen appointed -he himself its chairman-This is the end of the committee's labor—five o'd tills all power put into their hand—their own hands unjied, and gathered up from our table, tacked logether, and christened a the hands of the Senate fied—and the parties just ready to be compromise! Now compromise is a pretty phrase at all times, and is a good thing in itself, when there happens to be any Senator, comething like that of the heroic Pirithous when he surveyed the preparations for the nuptial feast-saw the com pany a I present, the lapithm on couches, the centaurs on their haund os-heard the Lo hymen teginning to resound, and saw the beauteous Hipped mia, about as beauteous I suppose as California, come "glittering like a star," and take her stand on his left hand. It was a happy moment for Piritheus! and in the fulness of his feelings he might have given vent to his joy in congra ulations to all the compary present, to all the lapithm and to all the centaurs, to all mankind and to all horsekind, on the auspicious event. But, oh! the decriful-ness of human felicity! In an ins ant the scene was changed! the feast a fight—the wedding fes ival a mortal combat

table itself supplying the implements of war! " At first a medley flight

Of bowls and jars supply the fight; Once implements of feas's, but now of fate." You know how it ended. The fight broke up the frast The wedding was postponed. And so may it be with this

attempted conjunction of California with the many ill-suited

her.

Mr. President, it is time to be done with this comedy of errors. California is suffering for want of admission. New Mexico is suffering for want of protection. The public business is suffering for want of attention. The character of Congress is suffering for want of progress in business. It is time to put an end to so many evils; and I have made the motion intended to terminate them, by moving the indefinite postponement of this unuanageable mass of incongruous bills, each an impediment to the other, that they may be taken up one by one, and in their proper order, to receive the decision which their respective merits require. which their respective merits require.

TUESDAY, JUNE 11, 1850.

The Senate proceeded to consider the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill to increase the rank and file of the army, and to incourage enlistments. The first question was on concurring in the amendment of the House to the second section.

Mr. RUSK. I hope that amendment will not be concurred.

in. It would be an expense for no possible benefit whatever. All those who have any acquaintance with military service know well that mounted infantry, those who have been for years in the service and know nothing on earth about horses, and who are at an age too when they can learn nothing with regard to them, are perfectly useless; more useless on horse-back a vast deal than on foot. In the first place, they do not know how to take care of horses; and in the second, when on horseback, they do not know how to ride at all; and yet they must necessarily be used against the Indians, who are the best horsemen in the world. In such service they would be utterly and totally useless. I hope, therefore, that the amendment will not be agreed to the Senate. It is my pursue to bring in a bill enhanced to the Senate.

amendment will not be agreed to the Senate. It is my purpose to bring in a bill authorizing the Provident to increase the force of the army by cavalry for that purpose, who can be drilled properly and be of some service. But the amendment of the House of Representatives does not answer the purpose at all. It will be a mere expense for no earthly use; for I am sure that the infantry would be utterly useless and unable to contend against the Indians, if mounted.

Mn DAVIS, of Missiarippi. I do not entirely approve of the amendment of the House. Indeed, I had expected to oppose it. It is not, however, quite so bad as the Senator from Texas represents. It is a discretionary power conferred on the President to mount such portions of infantry serving on the frontier as he may think proper. In the till which passed the Senate, and which comes back from the House with this amendment, provision is made to secure the enlistment of Western men; and I may be permitted to say to istment of Western men; and I may be permitted to say to the Senate that the Secretary of War connected that provision with this amendment, expecting that men would be en-listed in the West who would be suitable for mounted service; and I do not doubt such enlistments may be made, if they have a guaranty that they are to serve on horseback. The Senator from Texas will probably admit that this is an expectation which is well founded. The Secretary of War proposes, then, to select such men from the different companies at various stations on the frontiers, and convert them into mounted men. The companies of infantry will thus have on their muster-rolls men serving on horseback. They are to be equipped and used as mounted men, to act as escorts and to pursue the predatory bands of Indians. Such, I think it due to the Secretary of War to state, was the plan he proposed; and it is, in my opinion, capable of execution, if we may consent thus to disturb the organization of the army. It would require additional remuneration to the men thus to serve on horseback. They would require the pay of cavalry, because their expenses would be increased by such service; and unless they sorve permanently, I agree with the Senator from Texas that they would be utterly useless. You could not detail a man unacquainted with his horse, and untrained to riding, and expect him to perform the duty of a soldier of cavalry. He could only use the horse for transportation, to carry him where he had to act, and the chances would be that the

man and horse would part company before they got to the place of destination. But if, indeed, the man and horse should together get there and back again—he having no cavalry instruction-no permanent interest or attachment to the horse—would, by his ignorance and cerelessness, neglect and abuse the animal. I think, therefore, on the whole, that the abuse the animal. I think, therefore, on the whole, that the provision is not entirely an economical one. I would myself prefer, both for efficiency and economy, to see such mounted force as is required regularly organized. Yet, though the expense would be greater, man for man, as long as it is kept up, according to the proposed plan, it is much easier to get rid of it when no longer required as a mounted force. The infantry could be ordered again on foot, without a law for dishandment, and the horses could be sold. law for disbandment, and the horses could be sold. I think with the increase of the army proposed, by increasing the rank and file of the frontier companies, and with the enthe rank and file of the frontier companies, and with the en-listments which can be effected with the guaranty that they are to serve on horseback, that the amendment could be made quite useful, though not so good as a regularly organized force of cavalry I have always been in favor of having in our army, upon the peace establishment, a nucleus for every branch of the service. We have in recent years added light artillery and dragoons. We have, however, no light cavalry and no lancers. I think a regiment of light cavalry, and one or two squadrons of that regiment armed as lancers, per addition to the permanent organization of the army, on the peace establishment, and would be the most effective force that we could have for the protection of the frontier. Mr. RUSK. I am satisfied that this is clearly an expense

or nothing. The advantages which the honorable

from Mississippi supposes would result from it are not commensurate in my opinion with the expense. When we seek to enlist men they will certainly much more readily enlist for horse than for foot service. But here there will be no guaranty. They will be enlisted in the infantry, and at the discretion of the Secretary of War or the President they may or may not be mounted. You could not, then, get the proper materials, from the uncertainty as to what kind of service they would perform. Now, so far as infantry or mounted infanconcerned, on the frontiers of the country they are worse than useless. I speak from experience, and I say that they are worse than useless. They operate as no defence to-the frontier and as a temp ation to the Indians. The business of these prairie Indians is to rob, steal, plunder, and scalp. You place, then, in their neighborhood a garrison of nfantry, who must necessarily have some kind of property about the garrison. The Indians are first-rate horsemen; they are tempted there because they know the infantry cannot pursue them. They are tempted, in the first place, to these places in the hope of plunder, which they carry back to their tribe as an evidence of chivalry and bravery; and, in the second place, if they can catch a careless soldier about the infantry establishment they scalp him, and carry back his scalp as a mark of great honor and bravery, and dance over it with their tribe. It is utierly impossible for the infantry to follow them, and there is a great necessity of a mounted force of a most active character. As I have before had occasion to state, the people of Santa Fe are worse protected now and the In-dians commit more depredations than ever before; and what is the reason? The reason is, that the temptation to commit these depredations is greater. Travellers are passing through an unprotected country, and they cannot resist the temptation to attack these unguarded travellers for the sake of plunder. Some places on the frontiers of Texas are suff ring worse than they have ever done before, and the reason of it is the unguarded condition of the country and the number of emigrants passing to California by land. Under these circumstances, in my opinion, we are adopting a method totally inadequate to the necessity of the case. The expense of one or two real-men's on the frontier should be nothing compared with the absolute obligation which rests on the Government to protect it. You cannot stop the travel to California or the settlement on the frontiers of Texas and in New Mexico, and i becomes therefore the imperative duty of Congress to protect them. And, sir, if this state of things is allowed to continue for two or three years, the whole tribes will join in these warlike depredations, and what might now be prevented by the expen-diture of a few thousand dollars will cost millions hereafter. I hope, therefore, the amendment will be rejected; and at the proper time I will introduce a bill to increase the cavalry

f the army.

Mr. HUNTER. I have listened with some the gentlemen who have discussed this bill, who are both gentlemen of great military experience; and although I do not profess to know much about such matters, yet I think I see that the question lies in a nut-shell. A bill has passed the Senate to increase the army one-third. An amendment has been put in by the House which is designed to make that increase of one-third cover both the increase of the infantry and of the cavalry. The Senator from Texas wishes to strike out the amendment of the House, which confines the increase of both arms of the service within certain limits, because he wishes to increase the army not only by one-third in infantry, but also to raise an additional force of cavalry ; thus making the increase greater than the House is willing to sarction, and greater than the Senate is willing to authorize, unless there was a greater necessity for it than has yet been shown.

After some further debate, the question was taken on the mendment and there were : yeas 24, nays 18. So the amendment was concurred in, and the Secretary of the Senate was ordered to inform the House of Representatives

## SHOCCO SPRINGS.

Warren County, North Carolina.

THIS fashionable and pleasa t watering place, with many additions and improvements, will be opened again the assuing season for the reception and accommodation of visiers. Shocco is accessible by the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, twelve miles from Warrenton depot, from which a daily line of post co-ches will run in connexion with the mail, for the conveyance of visiters. The properties of the water, sul-phur, lime, magnesia, soda, epsom salta, &c., are considered by all who have tested them remedial in most diseases incidental to a southern climate. A good ban of music will be in attendance during the season. SAMUEL CALVERT.